

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
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Interviews: 2012 adults
Dates: March 4-7, 1999

48 Male
52 Female
[109]

FINAL

Study #4096
NBC/WSJ
March 1999

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

1. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>2/91+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	54	49	47	55	51	45	45	50	53	65	14	[140]
Wrong track.....	33	38	38	31	35	39	39	35	32	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	10	10	12	12	11	13	13	12	12	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>1/99</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Approve.....	66	68	65	68	66	64	63	66	66	68	68	41	[141]
Disapprove.....	31	29	31	29	31	30	30	29	28	29	29	50	
Not sure.....	3	3	4	3	3	6	7	5	6	3	3	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>3/99*</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>1/99</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/93</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	74	78	72	74	75	69	70	76	76	78	40	40	[142]
Disapprove.....	20	17	21	21	19	23	22	16	17	17	51	51	
Not sure.....	6	5	7	5	6	8	8	8	7	5	9	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	60	65	61	70	63	58	53	63	61	70	32	[143]
Disapprove.....	31	28	30	26	29	31	36	27	31	26	60	
Not sure.....	9	7	9	4	8	11	11	10	8	4	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Bill Clinton							[144]
March 1999.....	23	25	14	11	27	-	
January 1999.....	27	24	12	11	25	1	
December 1998.....	25	26	13	10	26	-	
October 1998+.....	25	26	10	12	26	1	
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
July 1998.....	24	26	17	15	18	-	
June 1998.....	24	30	14	12	20	-	
April 1998.....	27	29	13	11	19	1	
April 2, 1998.....	23	21	20	13	22	1	
February 1998.....	29	28	14	12	17	-	
January 17-19, 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
Al Gore							[146]
March 1999 *.....	16	23	29	16	14	2	
January 1999.....	17	24	29	15	12	3	
December 1998.....	17	25	27	13	15	3	
September 1998.....	16	25	32	12	13	2	
July 1998.....	16	26	31	12	13	2	
June 1998.....	18	26	31	10	13	2	
April 1998.....	16	29	29	12	11	3	
February 1998.....	18	29	27	12	11	3	
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
The Republican Party							[147]
March 1999 *.....	11	22	23	19	23	2	
January 1999.....	13	23	20	18	24	2	
December 1998.....	10	23	26	21	18	2	
October 1998+.....	13	24	22	21	19	1	
September 1998.....	14	27	29	15	14	1	
April 1998.....	10	27	30	18	13	2	
January 1998.....	9	29	30	18	12	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1995.....	17	33	25	13	9	3	
<i>Low</i>							
October 1998+.....	13	24	22	21	19	1	
Elizabeth Dole							[148]
March 1999 *.....	26	30	28	6	4	6	
Bill Bradley							[149]
March 1999 *.....	11	19	26	5	1	38	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[150]
March 1999 **.....	35	19	16	11	18	1	
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
December 1998.....	33	21	17	11	17	1	
October 1998+.....	32	24	15	12	16	1	
September 1998.....	29	21	20	12	18	-	
July 1998.....	22	24	25	13	14	2	
June 1998.....	26	22	21	11	19	1	
April 1998.....	26	25	19	13	16	1	
February 1998.....	27	25	19	11	17	1	
January 17-19, 1998.....	20	25	21	16	16	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+.....	14	20	19	17	27	3	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
The Democratic Party							[151]
March 1999 **.....	21	25	24	14	15	1	
January 1999.....	18	27	27	16	10	2	
December 1998.....	18	28	25	16	11	2	
October 1998+.....	13	29	28	16	12	2	
September 1998.....	15	25	33	17	9	1	
April 1998.....	15	27	29	15	12	2	
January 1998.....	13	30	30	16	9	2	
<i>High</i>							
October 20-21, 1992+.....	19	29	22	15	12	3	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1994.....	10	23	25	24	16	2	
Texas Governor George W. Bush							[152]
March 1999 **.....	25	26	28	5	5	11	
December 1998.....	25	28	27	5	4	11	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	3/99	1/99	12/98	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	High 9/98	Low 10/90+	
Approve.....	41	50	44	48	61	53	48	51	57	61	22	[153]
Disapprove.....	45	40	42	39	28	31	37	34	29	28	69	
Not sure.....	14	10	14	13	11	16	15	15	14	11	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

4b. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 2000 congressional elections -- a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	3/99*	10/98+	9/98	7/98	6/98	4/98	2/98	1/98	
Republican-controlled Congress. .	37	41	40	41	39	37	41	40	[154]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	43	43	39	40	40	41	37	42	
Not sure ²	20	16	21	19	21	22	22	18	
		12/97	9/97	7/97	4/97	1/96	12/95	10/94 ¹	
		41	41	45	44	41	42	44	
		37	39	39	38	38	41	38	
		22	20	16	18	21	17	18	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

² The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

4c. Who do you want to see take the lead role in setting policy for the country--President Clinton or the Congress?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	
President Clinton.....	35	38	28	35	35	38	[155]
Congress.....	47	43	49	43	45	44	
Shared/equal role (VOL).....	10	12	17	14	12	12	
Neither (VOL).....	5	5	4	4	5	3	
Not sure.....	3	2	2	4	3	3	
		<u>1/97</u>	<u>12/96</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94+</u>	
		34	38	33	31	30	
		43	44	54	55	55	
		18	14	6	8	11	
		2	2	3	2	1	
		3	2	4	4	3	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 5a. Which one of the following seven issues do you think needs the greatest attention from the federal government at the present time?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>3/99 *</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	
Guaranteeing the financial stability of Social Security ¹	25	19	21	[156-157]
Improving public education ²	24	28	26	
Promoting strong moral values.....	14	NA	NA	
Reducing taxes.....	9	NA	NA	
Reducing crime.....	7	13	14	
Strengthening the economy.....	7	11	10	
Reducing the budget deficit.....	6	14	18	
Reforming the way political campaigns are financed.....	NA	5	4	
Developing international trade agreements.....	NA	2	NA	
All equally (VOL).....	8	6	6	
None of these (VOL).....	-	1	1	
Not sure	-	1	-	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹ In 1997 this issue was referred to as "Guaranteeing the financial stability of Social Security and Medicare."

² In 1997 this issue was referred to as "Improving education."

5b. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with Social Security							[158/163]
March 1999.....	D-18	39	21	23	11	6	
October 1998 +.....	D-23	44	21	25	6	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	37	21	25	13	4	
July 1998.....	D-9	28	19	34	14	5	
January 1998.....	D-11	26	15	34	18	7	
September 1997.....	D-14	33	19	18	22	8	
October 1996.....	D-12	36	24	17	15	8	
December 1995.....	D-22	44	22	14	14	6	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	16	15	8	
November 1994.....	D-5	32	27	15	16	10	
Dealing with health care							[159]
March 1999 *.....	D-24	42	18	23	12	5	
October 1998 +.....	D-20	41	21	26	8	4	
September 1998.....	D-20	40	20	24	13	3	
June 1998.....	D-13	25	12	34	23	6	
May 1996.....	D-20	42	22	16	17	3	
December 1995.....	D-21	43	22	13	16	6	
October 1994.....	D-12	37	25	12	20	6	
July 1994.....	D-16	37	21	18	18	6	
May 1994.....	D-9	26	17	38	15	4	
October 1993.....	D-28	44	16	16	18	6	
March 1993.....	D-48	57	9	17	12	5	
July 1992+.....	D-34	44	10	21	19	6	
April 1992+.....	D-36	48	12	17	18	5	
October 1991+.....	D-34	46	12	18	16	8	
Dealing with education							[160]
March 1999 *.....	D-14	37	23	27	9	4	
October 1998 +.....	D-19	40	21	28	7	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	38	22	29	8	3	
September 1997.....	D-20	40	20	22	12	6	
October 1996.....	D-23	46	23	14	9	8	
May 1996+.....	D-16	40	24	19	12	5	
December 1995.....	D-10	35	25	19	14	7	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	21	11	7	
October 1994.....	D-13	34	21	24	15	6	
October 1993.....	D-8	32	24	16	24	4	
July 1992+.....	D-25	42	17	25	12	4	
October 1991+.....	D-14	28	14	33	18	7	
October 1990+.....	D-18	33	15	30	14	8	
November 1989+.....	D-15	30	15	32	15	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Q.5b (cont'd)	Party Advantage	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both About The Same	Neither	Not Sure	
Dealing with taxes							[161]
March 1999 *.....	R-6	29	35	20	12	4	
October 1998 +.....	-	32	32	21	10	5	
September 1998.....	R-6	29	35	22	11	3	
September 1997.....	R-5	26	31	20	16	7	
October 1996.....	R-5	30	35	15	13	7	
May 1996+.....	R-9	25	34	17	19	5	
December 1995.....	R-8	26	34	14	20	6	
June 1995.....	R-13	22	35	15	22	6	
November 1994.....	R-13	23	36	16	17	8	
October 1994.....	R-15	23	38	17	18	4	
October 1993.....	R-11	23	34	16	23	4	
October 1991+.....	R-5	26	31	18	18	7	
Dealing with Medicare							[162]
March 1999 *.....	D-23	41	18	23	10	8	
September 1997.....	D-18	34	16	25	20	5	
October 1996.....	D-14	34	20	24	16	6	
May 1996+.....	D-19	45	26	12	11	6	
December 1995.....	D-20	44	24	13	13	6	
June 1995.....	D-11	33	22	18	19	8	
Dealing with crime							[164]
March 1999 **.....	R-7	19	26	37	13	5	
October 1998 +.....	R-8	19	27	38	10	6	
September 1997.....	R-6	21	27	29	16	7	
October 1996.....	D-2	30	28	21	13	8	
May 1996+.....	R-10	21	31	25	16	7	
December 1995.....	R-7	20	27	27	20	6	
June 1995.....	R-15	17	32	25	20	6	
November 1994.....	R-11	14	25	34	19	8	
October 1994.....	R-5	23	28	21	21	7	
July 1994.....	R-8	18	26	33	19	4	
May 1994.....	R-11	9	20	52	15	4	
October 1993.....	R-7	20	27	22	24	7	
Promoting strong moral values							[165]
March 1999 **.....	R-23	13	36	23	23	5	
October 1998 +.....	R-20	16	36	22	23	3	
October 1996.....	R-26	19	45	15	14	7	
May 1996 +.....	R-15	21	36	17	19	7	
December 1995.....	R-12	19	31	20	26	4	
October 1994.....	R-18	20	38	19	17	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

Q.5b (cont'd)	Party Advantage	Democratic Party	Republican Party	Both About The Same	Neither	Not Sure	
Dealing with the economy							[166]
March 1999 **.....	D-6	35	29	26	6	4	
September 1998.....	-	31	31	29	6	3	
September 1997.....	R-9	25	34	26	9	6	
October 1996.....	D-4	36	32	15	10	7	
May 1996+.....	R-4	26	30	27	14	3	
December 1995.....	R-8	22	30	27	17	4	
June 1995.....	R-12	17	29	29	23	2	
October 1994.....	R-8	22	30	28	16	4	
July 1994.....	R-11	18	29	32	17	4	
June 1994.....	R-5	21	26	39	12	2	
October 1993.....	R-5	22	27	20	28	3	
March 1993.....	D-16	34	18	34	11	3	
July 1992+.....	D-8	26	18	35	18	3	
May 1992.....	D-6	29	23	26	17	5	
January 1992+.....	D-5	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991+.....	R-1	27	28	26	14	5	
Dealing with foreign policy							[167]
March 1999 **.....	R-5	25	30	31	6	8	
September 1998.....	R-10	23	33	34	6	4	
October 1994.....	R-19	15	34	34	12	5	
October 1993.....	R-27	10	37	11	39	3	
July 1992+.....	R-33	15	48	24	7	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

6. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? **(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")** **(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:)** Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	18		[168]
Not very strong Democrat.....	10	Skip to Q.7b	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	10		
Strictly independent.....	21	Skip to Q.8a/b	
Independent/lean Republican.....	10		
Not very strong Republican.....	10	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican.....	12		
Other.....	6	Skip to Q.8a/b	
Not sure/nothing.....	3		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS IN Q6.)

7a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

All Republicans											[169-170]
	3/99	1/99	12/98	9/98	6/98	4/98	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97	
Texas Governor George W. Bush.....	53	36	52	41	34	40	26	24	20	24	
Elizabeth Dole.....	18	26	11	10	18	NA	14	14	15	16	
Dan Quayle.....	7	8	7	8	9	14	6	7	10	9	
Steve Forbes.....	6	4	6	7	7	11	10	11	7	8	
Pat Buchanan.....	4	4	4	4	NA	4	6	4	4	6	
Gary Bauer.....	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
John Kasich.....	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	
John McCain.....	2	5	NA	NA	NA	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Lamar Alexander.....	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	2	5	3	
Jack Kemp.....	NA	8	7	11	10	NA	16	14	14	17	
Newt Gingrich.....	NA	NA	NA	5	5	5	5	4	5	NA	
None/other (VOL).....	1	1	4	7	6	8	-	9	13	8	
Not sure.....	4	7	7	5	9	10	13	9	7	9	

NOTE: An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS IN Q6.)

7b. Let me read you the names of a couple of people who might seek the Democratic nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Democratic primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

All Democrats										[171]
	3/99	1/99	12/98	9/98	1/98	9/97	7/97	4/97		
Al Gore.....	65	45	49	51	45	47	52	56		
Bill Bradley.....	20	13	12	12	14	13	11	9		
Jesse Jackson.....	NA	11	11	NA	NA	9	9	8		
Richard Gephardt.....	NA	9	7	12	8	7	8	6		
John Kerry.....	NA	4	2	3	NA	NA	NA	NA		
Bob Kerrey.....	NA	NA	3	4	4	5	4	4		
None/other (VOL).....	5	6	7	4	NA	5	7	11		
Not sure.....	10	12	9	14	29	14	9	6		

NOTE: An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

- 8a. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Elizabeth Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>3/99*</u>	<u>1/99</u>	
Al Gore.....	39	38	[172]
Elizabeth Dole.....	48	47	
Neither/other (VOL).....	7	8	
Not sure.....	6	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 8b. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Texas Governor George W. Bush were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>7/97</u>	
Al Gore.....	34	40	40	39	41	45	41	45	[173]
George W. Bush.....	52	50	48	49	44	39	44	39	
Neither/other (VOL).....	4	5	5	5	5	8	5	8	
Not sure.....	10	5	7	7	10	8	10	8	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 8c. Do you think the voters of this country are ready to elect a woman as president, or don't you think so?

Voters are ready to elect woman as president.....	55	[174]
Voters are not ready to elect woman as president.....	39	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 8d. Would you like to see Hillary Rodham Clinton elected to the U.S. Senate, or not?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>1/99</u>	
Yes, would like to see HRC elected to the U.S. Senate.....	47	46	[175]
No, would not like to see HRC elected to the U.S. Senate.....	44	45	
Depends (VOL).....	3	3	
Not sure.....	6	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents. (FORM B).

- 9a. Now I'd like to read you a list of people who were involved in the investigation and impeachment of President Clinton. For each one, I'd like you to tell me whether you approve or disapprove of their handling of their role.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY APPROVE

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The Democrats *	47	46	7	[178]
The U.S. Senate **	45	49	6	[180]
The U.S. House of Representatives *	42	50	8	[177]
The Republicans **	31	62	7	[208]
Ken Starr **	30	65	5	[179]
Bill Clinton *	24	71	5	[176]
The media **	23	73	4	[209]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 9b. Suppose your member of Congress voted in favor of impeaching President Clinton. Would this vote in favor of impeachment make you more likely or less likely to vote for your member of Congress in the next election, or would it not be a factor in your decision? (IF "MORE LIKELY," ASK:) Would this make you much more likely or somewhat more likely to support them? (IF "LESS LIKELY," ASK:) Would this make you much less likely or somewhat less likely to support them? *

Much more likely.....	14	[210]
Somewhat more likely.....	8	
Somewhat less likely.....	7	
Much less likely.....	22	
Not a factor in decision.....	47	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

10. Do you think that President Clinton has the ability to continue leading the country, or do you believe that he has lost his ability to lead the country?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>1/16- 18/99</u>	<u>1/21/99</u>	<u>9/21/98</u>	
Has the ability to continue leading the country.....	69	69	65	65	[211]
Has lost his ability to lead the country	28	30	32	32	
Not sure ¹	3	1	3	3	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹ Prior to January 1999, the volunteered response "depends" was recorded separately; for purposes of comparative it is combined with "not sure".

- 11a. Now that the U.S. Senate has failed to convict President Clinton and remove him from office, do you think that criminal and civil charges should or should not be brought against the President?

	<u>3/99**</u>	<u>2/99</u>	
Charges should be brought.....	33	35	[212]
Charges should not be brought.....	61	59	
Not sure.....	6	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 11b. As you may know, a woman named Juanita Broaddrick recently gave a television interview in which she claimed that President Clinton raped her when he was attorney general of Arkansas. From what you know, do you believe these allegations of rape against President Clinton, or not? *

Believe allegations of rape.....	30	[213]
Do not believe allegations of rape.....	50	
Not sure.....	20	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 11c. Do you feel that President Clinton has said enough publicly about the recent allegations by Juanita Broaddrick, or do you feel that he needs to provide more information? *

Has said enough.....	57	[214]
Needs to provide more information.....	30	
Not sure.....	13	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 11d. As you may know, Monica Lewinsky recently gave a two-hour television interview with journalist Barbara Walters. From what you know, did this interview make you feel more favorable or less favorable toward President Clinton, or did it not make much difference to you either way? **

More favorable.....	5	[215]
Less favorable.....	15	
Not make much difference.....	53	
Did not watch interview (VOL).....	26	
Not sure.....	1	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

12. As you may know, the law allowing the appointment of independent counsels to investigate possible wrongdoing by high-ranking public officials is about to expire. Do you think that Congress should or should not renew this law? **

Congress should renew the law.....	47	[216]
Congress should not renew the law.....	46	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Changing subjects now for a moment ...

- 13a. As you may know, President Clinton has promised to send about four thousand U.S. troops to the Kosovo region of Serbia as peace-keepers to join soldiers from other nations if there is an agreement to stop the fighting. Do you favor or oppose the use of American troops as peace-keepers in Kosovo? *

Favor.....	48	[217]
Oppose.....	45	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 13b. Eight years have passed now since the end of the Persian Gulf War, and Saddam Hussein is still in power in Iraq. Do you think that the U.S. should or should not use American troops to overthrow him? **

Should use American troops to overthrow Saddam.....	49	[218]
Should not use American troops to overthrow Saddam.....	43	
Not sure.....	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the economy...

- 14a. As you may know, the stock market's Dow Jones average is now over nine thousand. By the end of this year do you think that the market is more likely to rise above ten thousand or fall to eight thousand? *

Rise above 10,000.....	46	[219]
Fall to 8,000.....	35	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	15	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 14b. Which one of the following do you think is the greatest threat to our economy? **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

The global economic crisis.....	27	[220]
The growing trade deficit.....	18	
Increased inflation.....	13	
The Year 2000 computer bug.....	11	
The economies of Europe unifying behind one single currency....	9	
Higher interest rates.....	9	
All (VOL).....	5	
None/other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 14c. Do you believe that the U.S. government will or will not actually have a budget surplus in the next few years? *

Will have a surplus.....	43	[221]
Will not have a surplus.....	47	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 14d. As you may know, Congress voted two years ago to raise the minimum wage to five dollars and fifteen cents an hour. Now President Clinton and Democrats in Congress have proposed raising it over the next two years to six dollars and fifteen cents an hour. Do you favor or oppose this increase? **

Favor.....	75	[222]
Oppose.....	23	
Not sure.....	2	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 14e. Do you feel that you pay more than your fair share in federal income taxes, less than your fair share, or is the amount you pay about right?

	<u>3/99*</u>	<u>4/97¹</u>	
More than fair share.....	53	49	[223]
Less than fair share.....	1	2	
About right.....	45	47	
Not sure.....	1	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

¹Data comes from a survey conducted by CBS News among 1,347 adults.

Now I'd like to ask you some questions about retirement and Social Security.

15a. Are you currently retired?

Retired.....	24	Skip to Q.16a	[224]
Not retired.....	76	CONTINUE	
Not sure.....	-	Skip to Q.16a	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THAT THEY ARE NOT RETIRED IN Q15a.)

15b. At what age do you expect to retire?

Younger than 60.....	23	[225]
60.....	11	
61 to 64.....	15	
65.....	24	
66 to 69.....	5	
70 or older.....	9	
Never (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	4	

16a. How satisfied are you with your retirement security -- very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, somewhat dissatisfied, or very dissatisfied?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>6/97</u>	<u>3/97</u>	
Very satisfied.....	20	23	19	18	19	18	[226]
Somewhat satisfied.....	41	39	37	34	35	31	
Somewhat dissatisfied.....	19	19	18	20	17	21	
Very dissatisfied.....	16	17	23	25	27	27	
Not sure.....	4	2	3	3	2	3	
		<u>12/96</u>	<u>9/96</u>	<u>6/96</u>	<u>3/96</u>	<u>1/96</u>	
		14	18	19	16	16	
		38	38	34	36	34	
		22	20	19	21	20	
		23	21	25	25	25	
		3	3	3	2	5	

NOTE: All columns labeled "11/79" contain results taken from a survey conducted by Hart Research for the National Commission on Social Security in November 1979.

- 16b. Do you think your retirement income will be enough to allow you to live comfortably, will it be enough only to pay your monthly bills and obligations, or do you fear that it will not be enough to pay your monthly bills and obligations?

	3/99	11/79	
Enough to live comfortably.....	37	31	[227]
Enough only to pay monthly bills/obligations.....	32	33	
Not enough to pay monthly bills/obligations.....	27	28	
Not sure.....	4	8	

- 16c. How much do you have saved for retirement at this point--under \$50,000 or over \$50,000?

(IF UNDER \$50,000, ASK:) Is that under \$5,000, between \$5,000 and \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$25,000, or between \$25,000 and \$50,000? (IF OVER \$50,000, ASK:) Is that between \$50,000 and \$100,000, between \$100,000 and \$250,000, or more than \$250,000?

	3/99	12/97	
Under \$5,000.....	23	14	[228]
\$5,000 to \$10,000.....	10	12	
\$10,000 to \$25,000.....	11	13	
\$25,000 to \$50,000.....	12	15	
\$50,000 to \$100,000.....	14	16	
\$100,000 to \$250,000.....	10	11	
Over \$250,000.....	7	8	
Not sure.....	13	11	

- 17a. Do you think that employers should or should not be required to provide a pension or 401(k) plan? *

Should be required.....	79	[229]
Should not be required.....	16	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 17b. Do you think that employees should or should not be required to contribute to a pension or 401(k) plan? **

Should be required.....	59	[230]
Should not be required.....	34	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 18a. On a scale from one to ten, in terms of your retirement, how important a part of your retirement income will your Social Security payment be? If it will be a very important part of your retirement income, select a "9" or "10." If it will not be an important part of your retirement income, select a "1" or "2," and if it is somewhere in the middle, select a number closer to "5." What number on the scale best represents how important a part of your retirement income your Social Security payment will be?

10, very important.....	17	[231-232]
7-9.....	24	
4-6.....	30	
1-3, not important.....	26	
Cannot rate.....	3	
MEAN.....	5.8	

- 18b. In retirement, what proportion of your retirement income do you receive or expect to receive from Social Security -- all of your retirement income, most of your retirement income with some coming from other

sources, about half of your retirement income, less than half of your retirement income with most coming from other sources, or very little of your retirement income?

All of your retirement income.....	9	[233]
Most, but some will come from other sources.....	16	
About half of your retirement income.....	21	
Less than half, but most will come from other sources.....	25	
Very little of your retirement income.....	25	
Not sure.....	4	

19a-Q21c ASKED ONLY OF NON-RETIRED PEOPLE IN Q15a.

- 19a. On a scale from one to five, how much do you look forward to retiring? If you really look forward to retirement, select a "4" or "5." If you feel somewhat neutral, select a "3," and if you are not looking forward to retirement, select a "1" or "2." What number on the scale best represents your feelings?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>11/79</u>	
5, really looking forward to retirement.....	34	24	[234]
3-4.....	40	44	
1-2, not looking forward to retirement.....	24	32	
Cannot rate.....	2	-	
MEAN.....	3.5		

- 19b. If you had the choice, would you continue working once you reached retirement age, or would you prefer to retire?

Continue working.....	46	Skip to Q.20	[235]
Prefer to retire.....	46		
Some of both (VOL).....	4	CONTINUE	
Not sure.....	4	Skip to Q.20	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY WOULD PREFER TO RETIRE IN Q19b.)

- 19c. Which one of the following descriptions comes closer to your feelings about what you most look forward to in retirement?

Description A: Retirement is a time to start a new life, with new goals and interests, new activities and travel.

Description B: Retirement is a time to enjoy familiar places, friends, family, and organizations you have always known.

Description A: New life, goals, interests, activities.....	46	[236]
Description B: Familiar places, friends, family, organizations.....	42	
Some of both (VOL).....	12	
Neither (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	-	

20. Do you think that you will be better off financially, worse off, or about the same as your parents were at their retirement?

Better off than parents.....	52	[237]
Worse off than parents.....	18	
About the same as parents.....	24	
Parents not retired (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

- 21a. When you think about your retirement, which one of these concerns is greater -- not having enough to do to feel productive and fulfilled, or not having enough money to live the way you want to live?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>11/79</u>	
Not having enough to do.....	26	17	[238]
Not having enough money.....	62	61	
Both/neither (VOL).....	10	19	
Not sure.....	2	3	

- 21b. When it comes to retiring, please tell me whether you expect each of the following to be a part of your retirement or not really a part of your retirement.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY WILL BE PART OF RETIREMENT

	<u>Will Be Part Of Retirement</u>	<u>Will Not Be Part Of Retirement</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Studying, traveling, and learning new things.....	89	9	2	[244]
Volunteering for community and public service organizations.....	79	18	3	[239]
Working part time.....	62	33	5	[242]
Not having to go to work.....	61	35	4	[243]
Starting a new job or career.....	24	73	3	[241]
Living in a retirement community.....	10	86	4	[240]

- 21c. Which ONE of the following worries you the MOST about retiring?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Poor health.....	33	[245]
Financial worries.....	30	
Boredom.....	14	
Loneliness.....	4	
Missing your job.....	4	
Feeling behind the times.....	3	
Being cut off from groups or organizations you were active in.....	2	
None/other (VOL).....	8	
Not sure.....	2	

22a-Q24c ASKED ONLY OF RETIREES OVER AGE 50

22a. At what age did you retire?

Younger than 60.....	34	[246]
60.....	7	
61 to 64.....	31	
65.....	13	
66 to 69.....	5	
70 or older.....	5	
Not sure.....	5	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

22b. Which ONE of the following has been the MOST enjoyable to you in your retirement?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Time with family and friends.....	28	[247-248]
Travel or recreation.....	17	
Not having to go to work.....	16	
New interests and hobbies.....	10	
Volunteer activities or organizations.....	8	
Financial security.....	6	
No daily responsibilities.....	5	
New career.....	4	
None (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

22c. Which ONE of the following has been the MOST disappointing to you in your retirement?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Poor health.....	19	[249]
Financial worries.....	10	
Missing your job.....	8	
Being cut off from groups or organizations you were active in.....	7	
Boredom.....	7	
Loneliness.....	5	
Feeling behind the times.....	3	
None/other (VOL).....	38	
Not sure.....	3	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

23a. Do you live in the same community in which you lived while you worked, or have you moved to a new location for your retirement?

Live in same community.....	68	[250]
Moved to new location for retirement.....	31	
Both (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	-	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

23b. Which of the following descriptions comes closer to what you like about retirement?

Description A: Retirement has been a time to start a new life, with new goals and interests, new activities and travel.

Description B: Retirement has been a time to enjoy familiar places, friends, family, and organizations you have always known.

Description A: New life, goals, interests, activities.....	27	[251]
Description B: Familiar places, friends, family, organizations.....	52	
Some of both (VOL).....	13	
Neither (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	2	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

- 24a. Compared with your parents' generation when they retired, do you think in your retirement that you are better off, worse off, or about the same as when it comes to **(READ ITEM)?**

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO SAY BETTER OFF

	Better <u>Off</u>	Worse <u>Off</u>	About The <u>Same</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Getting good health care.....	72	7	19	2	[254]
Being independent and able to take care of your needs without relying on others.....	68	4	26	2	[256]
Having enough money to enjoy retirement.....	67	8	23	2	[252]
The health of retirees.....	65	7	23	5	[253]
The ability to stay involved in politics and community organizations.....	56	4	33	7	[255]

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

- 24b. For each of the following, tell me whether that applies or does not apply to you in your retirement.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO SAY APPLIES

	<u>Applies</u>	Does Not <u>Apply</u>	Depends <u>(VOL)</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Poor health has limited your enjoyment of retirement.....	29	69	2	-	[260]
You volunteer at least ten hours a week.....	25	72	2	1	[258]
You have continued to work for pay at a different job in retirement.....	21	77	1	1	[261]
You feel that you need to rely on others for transportation, taking care of the house and bills, or other needs.....	13	85	2	-	[257]
You have moved to a retirement home or community.....	11	88	-	1	[259]

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE CONTINUED TO WORK FOR PAY AFTER RETIREMENT IN Q24b.)

24c. Do you continue to work for pay at a different job because you need the money, or do you continue to work because you like the job?

Need the money.....	23	[262]
Like the job.....	45	
Both (VOL).....	23	
Not sure.....	9	

*Asked only of Retirees over age 50

25. Thinking about your retirement, is or will the following be the major source of your retirement income, a secondary source, a very small source, or not a source at all of your retirement income?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY MAJOR SOURCE

	<u>Major Source</u>	<u>Secondary Source</u>	<u>A Very Small Source</u>	<u>Not A Source At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Private savings and investments						[267]
March 1999.....	39	28	18	13	2	
December 1997.....	44	26	13	13	4	
Pensions or other employer-funded retirement plans at work						[263]
March 1999.....	32	25	16	25	2	
December 1997.....	37	26	13	20	4	
Social Security and other government programs						[264]
March 1999.....	27	29	32	10	2	
December 1997.....	23	26	30	16	5	
A 401(k) or 403(b) plan						[265]
March 1999.....	27	20	12	37	4	
Some form of individual retirement account or I.R.A.						[266]
March 1999.....	24	28	20	25	3	
Income from a second, post- retirement career or job						[268]
March 1999.....	9	18	27	43	3	
Assistance from children or other family members						[269]
March 1999.....	2	6	14	76	2	

(ASK ONLY OF NON-RETIRED PEOPLE IN Q15a.)

26a. How confident are you that Social Security still will be providing retirement benefits when you reach retirement age? Would you say that you are completely confident, very confident, just somewhat confident, or not confident at all?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	
Completely confident.....	8	12	[270]
Very confident.....	11	10	
Just somewhat confident.....	35	31	
Not confident at all.....	45	43	
Not sure.....	1	4	

How much confidence do you have that the Social Security system will have the funds to provide retirement benefits for you or your spouse upon retirement – complete confidence, a great deal of confidence, only a little confidence or no confidence?

	<u>11/79</u>
Complete confidence.....	18
A great deal of confidence.....	24
Only a little confidence.....	35
No confidence.....	17
Not sure.....	5
Not eligible for Social Security retirement benefits (VOL).	1

(ASK ONLY OF NON-RETIRED PEOPLE IN Q15a.)

26b. When you reach retirement age, do you think Social Security will be paying the same level of benefits as it pays now, paying less than now, or will it not be paying benefits at all?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
Paying same as now.....	28	17	[271]
Paying less than now.....	46	43	
Not paying benefits at all.....	23	33	
Not sure.....	3	7	

26c. In order to preserve the Social Security system, do you think that the federal government should offer special incentives to get people to work longer and retire later?

	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/98</u>	
Federal government should offer special incentives.....	45	55	[272]
Federal government should not offer special incentives..	49	37	
Not sure.....	6	8	

26d. If you could choose whether or not you would be in the Social Security system, which would you choose -- to be in the Social Security system and pay taxes, or to get out of the Social Security system and not pay taxes?

	<u>3/99*</u>	<u>11/79</u>	
Be in system/pay taxes.....	51	77	[273]
Get out of system/ not pay taxes.....	44	19	
Not sure.....	5	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 27a. Do you think that people should or should not be required to pay Social Security taxes and be part of the system? **

Should be required to pay Social Security taxes/be part of the system.....	70	[274]
Should not be required to pay Social Security taxes/be part of the system.....	26	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 27b. Do you think that all Americans who have paid Social Security payroll taxes should receive the same amount of benefits in their retirement, or should benefits depend on financial need? *

Should receive the same amount of benefits.....	54	[275]
Benefits should depend on financial need.....	40	
Not sure.....	6	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 28a. Who do you think should take the lead in proposing a solution to the problems with the Social Security system -- President Clinton or the Republican leaders in Congress?

	3/99*	12/98	4/98	
President Clinton.....	37	35	33	[276]
Republican leaders in Congress.....	43	42	39	
Both (VOL).....	15	16	21	
Not sure.....	5	7	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 28b. Do you think that the positions of the Democratic Party and the Republican Party on the issue of Social Security are pretty similar, somewhat different, or far apart? **

Pretty similar.....	26	[277]
Somewhat different.....	32	
Far apart.....	26	
Not sure.....	16	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 29a. President Clinton has made a Social Security proposal, which includes transferring more than sixty percent of the budget surplus to Social Security, and allowing the federal government to invest part of the Social Security surplus in the stock market to generate higher returns. Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's proposal to help ensure the financial stability of Social Security? **

Favor.....	47	[278]
Oppose.....	44	
Not sure.....	9	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 29b. President Clinton has proposed that future Social Security benefits be paid out of general tax revenues, rather than relying only on workers' payroll taxes, as is done now. Do you favor or oppose President Clinton's proposal? *

Favor.....	46	[279]
Oppose.....	39	
Not sure.....	15	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 29c. On the issue of Social Security, and compared with other presidents, do you feel that President Clinton has been among the best, very good, about average, or below average in dealing with and protecting Social Security? **

Among the best.....	13	[280]
Very good.....	23	
About average.....	42	
Below average.....	16	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 30a. Republicans and Democrats in Washington agree that half of the budget surplus will be used to guarantee the financial stability of the Social Security system. On which of the following would you like to see the remainder of the surplus funds used? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Spending increases for domestic programs, such as health care and education.....	34	[308]
Returning the money to the taxpayers in the form of lower taxes.	27	
Securing the financial stability of the Medicare system.....	27	
Tax credits for contributions to private retirement accounts.....	6	
None/other (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 30b. Which one of the following do you think should be the MOST important goal when it comes to reforming the Social Security system? **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Give people more personal control over their Social Security savings.....	31	[309]
Assure the long-term stability of the Social Security system.	30	
Reduce poverty among the elderly.....	18	
Pay retirees the benefits they are owed.....	15	
None/other (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

30c. As you may know, without any changes the Social Security system will have a financial shortfall starting in the year 2029. I'm going to read you a number of reforms that have been proposed to deal with the system, and for each one, I'd like you to tell me whether that is something you strongly favor, mildly favor, mildly oppose, or strongly oppose.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY STRONGLY OR MILDLY FAVOR

	Strongly Favor	Mildly Favor	Mildly Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Not Sure	
Protect the Social Security trust fund, making sure that it is spent only for Social Security benefits and not for other purposes						[311]
March 1999 *.....	85	10	2	2	1	
Use most of the projected federal budget surplus to shore up the Social Security system						[315]
March 1999 **.....	43	30	12	9	6	
Allow workers to take SOME of their Social Security taxes out of the system and invest them on their own						[312]
March 1999 *.....	34	28	14	20	4	
December 1998.....	41	26	10	19	4	
Raise taxes on Social Security benefits for those earning more than fifty thousand dollars a year						[314]
March 1999 **.....	29	24	17	26	4	
Gradually raise the retirement age to seventy						[313]
March 1999 **.....	13	21	19	45	2	
December 1998.....	11	17	19	51	2	
Have the government invest some of the money that people pay in Social Security taxes in the stock market						[310]
March 1999 *.....	12	22	17	44	5	
Reduce benefits to ensure the long-term stability of the Social Security system						[316]
March 1999 **.....	6	16	25	49	4	
December 1998 ¹	3	7	21	66	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

¹Previously, the item was phrased "reduce Social Security benefits."

31a. In order to deal with the shortfall in Social Security funds, would you prefer raising the Social Security payroll tax rate, reducing benefits for all recipients, or a combination of the two? **

Prefer raising Social Security payroll tax.....	20	[317]
Prefer reducing benefits for all recipients.....	5	
Combination of the two.....	56	
Not sure.....	19	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 31b. If the federal government were to reduce Social Security benefits, which one of the following methods would you prefer? **

A cut in the cost-of-living adjustment.....	30	[318]
Increasing taxes on benefits.....	18	
Raising the retirement age.....	35	
None/other (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 32a. A proposal has been made that would allow or require people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds. Some people think that individuals would have more money for retirement if they were allowed to invest and manage some of their Social Security payroll taxes themselves. Others think that it is too risky and could leave some people without adequate money for retirement if the stock market were to decline in value significantly. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?

	3/99*	10/98+	4/98	
Favor.....	44	43	52	[319]
Oppose.....	51	52	41	
Not sure.....	5	5	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+Asked only of registered voters.

- 32b. If people were allowed to put a portion of their Social Security taxes in individual retirement accounts that could be invested in the stock market, which one of the following options would you prefer -- (a) A system in which people could choose from a limited number of government-approved funds, or (b) A system in which people could invest in any stock or fund that they choose? **

A/Government-approved fund.....	25	[320]
B/Fund of choice.....	67	
Neither (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	3	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 32c. Some people think that a portion of the Social Security trust fund should be invested in the stock market to take advantage of the higher return that the market offers over the long run and to prevent Congress from spending the money. Others oppose investing a portion of the Social Security trust fund in the stock market because it would throw the market off balance and give the federal government too much ownership of private companies in the United States. Which position do you agree with more? *

The government should invest a portion in the stock market.....	28	[321]
The government should not invest a portion in the stock market.....	64	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 32d. Suppose your member of Congress supported a proposal that allowed workers to take ALL of their Social Security taxes out of the system and invest the money on their own. Would this make you more likely or less likely to vote for your member of Congress in the next election, or would it not be a factor in your decision? **(IF "MORE LIKELY," ASK:)** Would this make you much more likely or somewhat more likely to support your member of Congress? **(IF "LESS LIKELY," ASK:)** Would this make you much less likely or somewhat less likely to support your member of Congress? **

Much more likely.....	16	[322]
Somewhat more likely.....	11	
Somewhat less likely.....	14	
Much less likely.....	22	
Not a factor in decision.....	33	
Not sure.....	4	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 33a. Looking ahead, how would you describe the financial condition of Medicare -- would you say that it is basically secure and solid, faces minor troubles, faces major troubles, or faces a crisis? *

Basically secure and solid.....	5	[323]
Faces minor troubles.....	31	
Faces major troubles.....	38	
Faces a crisis.....	16	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 33b. Would you favor or oppose the Medicare system paying for the costs of prescription drugs for all beneficiaries, even if this meant an increase in Medicare premiums? **

Favor.....	65	[324]
Oppose.....	23	
Not sure.....	12	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 33c. There is a proposal in Congress to change Medicare so that seniors would receive vouchers with which they could purchase private health insurance, instead of receiving insurance directly from the government as they do now. Supporters say that this plan will give seniors more choices in health care coverage and reduce costs. Opponents say that vouchers will not pay for the coverage Medicare now provides, so that seniors will have to pay more or receive less coverage under this plan. Do you favor or oppose this proposed change in Medicare?

	<u>3/99*</u>	<u>7/95</u>	
Favor Medicare voucher plan.....	34	32	[325]
Oppose Medicare voucher plan.....	52	55	
Not sure.....	14	13	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18 - 24.....	9	[326-327]
25 - 29.....	8	
30 - 34.....	9	
35 - 39.....	12	
40 - 44.....	11	
45 - 49.....	10	
50 - 54.....	8	
55 - 59.....	8	
60 - 64.....	7	
65 - 74.....	13	
75 and over.....	4	
Refused/not sure.....	1	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[328-329]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	29	
Some college, no degree.....	21	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	10	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	19	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work/master's degree...	9	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F3a. Are you currently employed? **(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do? **(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

Professional/manager.....	27	[330-331]
White collar worker.....	19	
Blue collar worker.....	18	CONTINUE
Farmer.....	1	
Student.....	3	SKIP TO Q.F4
Homemaker.....	7	
Retiree.....	21	
Unemployed.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE CURRENTLY EMPLOYED IN QF3a.)

F3b. Are you currently covered by a pension or 401(k) plan through your employer?

Yes, covered by pension or 401(k).....	63	[338]
No, not covered by pension or 401(k).....	36	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think that your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	[339]
Somewhat liberal.....	19	
Moderate.....	26	
Somewhat conservative.....	22	
Very conservative.....	11	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	12	
Not sure.....	3	

F5a. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered.....	86	[340]
Not registered.....	13	
Not sure.....	1	

F5b. Did you happen to vote in the 1998 election for U.S. House of Representatives? (IF YES, ASK:) Did you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your district?

Yes -- Democratic candidate.....	32	[341]
Yes -- Republican candidate.....	29	
Yes -- another candidate (VOL)/not sure/refused....	5	
No, did not vote.....	29	
Not sure if voted.....	5	

F6. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	22	[342]
Married.....	58	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	8	
Divorced.....	9	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F7a. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	36	[343]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	63	
Not sure.....	1	

F7b. Please tell me if the following applies or does not apply to you.

	<u>Applies</u>	<u>Does Not Apply</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Have a chronic, serious medical condition that will last for years and years				[344]
March 1999.....	22	75	3	
Take a prescription drug every day				[345]
March 1999.....	41	57	2	
Have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks				[346]
March 1999.....	52	43	5	
December 1998.....	52	45	3	
April 1998.....	48	49	3	

(ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY HAVE AT LEAST 5,000 IN MUTUAL FUNDS OR STOCKS IN QF7b.)

F7c. Is that less than \$25,000 or more than \$25,000?

(IF MORE THAN \$25,000, ASK:) Is that between \$25,000 and \$50,000, or is it more than \$50,000?

Less than \$25,000.....	40	[347]
Between \$25,000 and \$50,000(k).....	19	
More than \$50,000.....	32	
Not sure.....	9	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	52	[348]
Catholic.....	27	
Jewish.....	3	
Other.....	10	
None.....	5	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F9. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	12	[349]
Labor union household.....	6	
Nonunion household.....	80	
Not sure.....	2	

F10. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background? (IF NO:) What is your race -- white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	6	[350]
White.....	78	
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	3	

F11. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	5	[351]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	9	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	12	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	11	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	19	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	10	
More than \$100,000.....	9	
Not sure/refused.....	14	